136 laying during the little and big rains. But there are many variations.) When it comes, the farmer tries to scare it away by setting fire to fallow fields, stubble, bush and trees.

136 Other wild creatures familiar to the Amhara are Migrating birds which fly north (to "Jerusalem" in the popular mind, actually to Europe) in March and return in October, including the "zorit", a white-bellied, black-backed, red-winged bird, and a variety of stork, called "asa leqami". The Nile Monitor, ("ardjano"), a huge lizard is found along larger rivers, often not far from villages and even towns, and easy to hunt. With its scaly skin and often large size, it resembles a crocodile, with dark stripes and spots on a very white underside. 281 The skin is used to cover better utensils and is exported as "crocodile leather" for bags and shoes. Actual crocodiles are much harder to hunt, in less accessible river gorges in the lowlands. The Guenon Monkey (Tota) is common on lower 231 elevations(where it is also a danger to crops). Its young are sometimes made pets.

136 Insect life is abundant in Ethiopia, varies in type according to elevation, and bears considerable significance to ecology.

136 Flies - abundant everywhere, transmitting intestinal and skin infections. They are not interfered with beyond swishing with the fly-switch which, if kept in constant motion, chases out does not kill them.

Fleas ("qunechcha") are very common on humans. Everyone has them most of the time, even in the city.

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[283] from a living, corky, African Baobab (Adansonia digitata), called "demma". Rope is also made from a tropical creeper of lower altitudes, called "arag", or of reed fibers. Thatching grass of
[324] excellent quality is obtained from a strong, tall reed called "fäla" which resembles papyrus and
[293] grows on the shore of lakes. The "gecha" reed grows on the shore of rivers and is used to make the famous sun-umbrellas owned by every rural housewife, though once the privilege of kings and nobles.

[372] Fuel - Charcoal for firing pottery and smithing is made from the big "amfar" tree. Now also from the eucalyptus tree, but in rural areas the umbrella tree; "grar" is preferred because it does not have to be paid for.

[386] Dyestuff - the bark of the "wäyba" tree was used to make the yellow dye for the togas of monks, now only in the more remote, change-resisting monasteries (most others wear white).

[223] Many other basic necessities for life and comfort are also obtained by collecting, by remembering where in the bush one has encountered the right kind or shape of plant, rather than planting and caring for it in gardens.

[388] Soap - is obtained in rural areas from the crushed fruit of the "endod" bush (Sircunia Abyssinica).

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• 281 Tannin for tanning and curing hides - is obtained from the bark of the "beshesha" bush; from the

824 [281] yellow fruit of an "embway" bush an astringent is made for depilation of hides.

[251] Butter is preserved and "perfumed" by boiling it with the leaves of the "ades" (myrtle) bush.

[263] Wild spice - used to flavor the flat taste of porridge during the long lenten fasting season, is obtained from a daisy-like flower "komär" with strongly scented foliage resembling camomile. But because it is "wild" it is despised at other times.

[262] Wild oil - in case of crop failure, "suf", sunflower seed (Carthamus tinctorus) is crushed for edible oil.

222 554 The element of shame at collecting rather than planting thus affects only those items directly connected with food consumption. The reason is that this would class the consumer with one who "hunts for subsistence", and such hunters are considered at the lowest social stratum.

Therefore, very little fruit is consumed by the Amhara, in view of the absence of any pattern of planting orchards. Even the wiesspread fig tree, planted for ages past for its broad shade, and used by ancient kings and judges when judging legal cases, is largely used for food only by children, ex-slaves and birds. Among the wild fruit consumed by these groups, are:

wild cherry - "gaba", a spiny tree with small fruit.

wild orange - "koshäm" (rumex abissinica), with sour fruit.

wild mulberry - "enjoriya", resembled blackberry, grows along rivers.

"gämärro" - (Capparis tomentosa), with edible red fruit.

243 patient oxen. If the farmer has no ex-slave retainers, his wife may help in the harvest. Even young boys help, particularly in protecting crops. The direction of the breeze [461] is carefully observed before winnowing. Work proceeds from sunrise to sundown (from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M.), with a rest from noon to 3 P.M., the hottest time of the day. At that [263] time the women bring barley beer, enjara bread, and a special condiment prepared from crushed "nug" oilseeds called "anäbabär".

Threshing by sticks instead of oxen is done in harvest of the "nug" and this may require some additional helpers.

241 262 Oil plants are cultivated and of considerable importance in the diet. They are considered field crops rather than garden crops:

"nug" (Guizotia abyssinica), the black Niger Seed, which is the most used vegetable oil of the Amhara. Travellers take it along, mixed with spices, as a staple. It is used in many items of diet. After crushing, the oil cakes are used for fuel (not fodder).

Flax seed (Linum usitatissimum), called "talbä", the second most common oilseed, of light brown color, consumed in similar ways and in drinks. It is not raised for the fiber, which is considered fodder or fuel.

Castor bean (Ricinus communis), called "gulqwas" or "gachma". This is not a field crop as much as nug and talba, and not as much of a staple. Tanners use it for lubrication of skins. The emperor has urged increased production, but there [281]

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[556] ("agäbba") to an important "great man", perhaps to become a "client" in his retinue for protection.

[775] In religious life, the old peasant can arrange for the peace of his soul after death by giving a cow to his Confessor or to the "qēs gabaz" the administrative priest [682] of the parish church, to have masses recited. In criminal law, a murderer in the remote rural areas can still save himself and even prevent a long and bloody feud between families, if he can borrow enough cattle, in addition to his own, to pay "blood-money", in cows, to the kin of the victim, the agreement witnessed by the presence of a "chega shum", a judge, or a priest, preferably all three. Thus there are some aspects of the cattle pattern that are reminiscent of a tribal, semi-nomadic, rather than settled territorial social organization. This becomes emphasized during the upland trek in the rainy season.

233 Though entrusted to youngsters, care of cattle is obviously a task requiring responsibility. Cattle is not taken out until one hour after sunrise, about 7 A.M., when the dew has dried. During the hot dry season, cattle rest under umbrella trees and other shade from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M., so that the grazing period away from the hamlet is not long. Before dusk, by 6 P.M., they are taken into the hamlet enclosure or corrall, or even into the hut, for hyenas may come early.

The cash value of cattle is low, primarily because of the distance and poor transportation to world markets. [281] The hides, a major export item, are of low cash value because this type is not tanned, merely sundried, and "book-folded" for export.

233 folded" for export.

Sheep are raised primarily for meat. They do not figure in social organization except as minor gifts (including entrance gifts). They are small in stature, and so inexpensive that the sheepskin can often be sold for 1/3 the cost of the entire animal. The woolly skins are used as cloaks, bedcovers, etc. The sheep is not bred for wool, only for meat, especially for the fattail ("lat") which is as prized as in other Middle Eastern areas. The wool (yäbäg t'ägur) is not very long, and is used to stuff pillows in urban areas. Wool weaving is a local specialty of remote districts, now dying out due to competition of modern, imported blankets, but formerly used to make the black, Arab-type "burnos". [286]

Goats as well as sheep are usually entrusted to an ex-slave or a simpleton, or very small children, when on pasture. Domestic goats ("feyäl") are raised because of the cheapness of their meat, and the skin which is tanned by the Faqi, and made into parchment for church literature, etc. To fatten rams, their testicles are crushed between rocks, and the resulting animal is called "qet'qet". [281] [232]

231 Horses are small, wiry and very enduring. They are the animal of the young aristocrats in warfare, in games showing prowess. Mules, small, wiry, and intelligent, cost at least twice as much as horses. They are preferred by travellers and older persons, and are used as the animal of honor ridden by the veiled bride when she is taken to her bridegroom's hamlet. If they can at all afford it, a Gemaar mule is preferred, and for the bridal

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462 563 B. THE ETHNIC DIVISION OF LABOR.

Division of labor according to the ethnic origin of of the worker is the most distinctly organized division among the Amhara. This is based on the attitude of the [461] Amhara that labor (especially skilled labor and manual labor) is dishonorable. This attitude is reinforced by the close kinship ties which prevent a cultural deviant from shaming the members of his family by working in the district where they are known. It also reinforces the the ethnic boundary lines, and forces the non-Amhara, non-Coptic, working ethnic groups to live within the circle of their own kinfik, religious groups, and hamlets.

[281 191] One of the most despised is the class of the Faqi, the tanners, who speak old-Cushitic languages such as Agau, are considered "pagans" in religion, and are associated by their trade with the hunters, the lowest class.

326 191 On a slightly higher level are the ironsmiths, usually of Falasha, who practice Mosaic Judaism, used to speak Quarinya, an old-Cushitic language, but use the same Semitic Geez language as the Copts in their religious worship and biblical liturgy.

563 463 754 326 [191] This use of Geez by the Falasha is puzzling to the Coptic priests, and brings about a sort of grudging respect for the Falasha, which somewhat elevates their status above that of the tanners. But they are suspected of practicing black magic in connection with their smithing of iron. Patrons take magic precautions to counteract all sorts of magic bewitchment by the Falashas whenever they have contact with them.

322 saddlemaker is usually an expert at lumbering. A well-made "korecha", wooden, skin-covered saddle, with adornements, made to order, may cost a total of Eth$25.-

D. Tanning

281 The consumption of leather articles among the Amhara is tremendous for a settled agricultural people. It is reminiscent of Hamitic-speaking tribes whose ecology is based on animal husbandry, and the technology of tanning and manufacture of leather articles is linked with that of North Africa. The ethnic group that does this specialized work in Amhara territory, the Faqi, were Cushitic (Hamitic) - speaking, and probably constitute an early group in residence in Ethiopia. Products consumed include cooking utensils especially for travelling, riding equipment, scabbards, shields, and formerly skin clothing (now worn only by itinerant monks).

281 563 797 The Faqi live in scattered hamlets of their own, the size of which is usually like the smaller Amhara ones: patrilocal residence, 5 to 6 huts at most, each occupied by a biological family. Until very recently, none of them were Coptic Christians since the Coptic priesthood considered these "pagans" on the same level as occupational hunters, too low to be "raised to Christianity". They spoke old-Cushitic languages such as Qemant and other Agau tongues, and gathered in remote tree-groves on top of hills for occasional religious worship similar to that of the "pagan" Galla. Now most of them speak or at least understand Amharic, and since 1942 some have become con-

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281 563 [797] verted to Christianity due to the influence of the Emperor's wishes. Socially they are now considered on a level above the hunters, and, after adopting Christianity almost on a level with other non-ethnic craftsmen. Though largely endogamous within their own Faqi class, they used to take half-Shanqalla wives, or "woyto" (hippopotamus hunters), but near urban places such as Gondar they now marry poor Amhara of doubtful ancestry, after having become Christians. They are still considered "rustic" by the Amhara townsmen, since the Faqi, like the Falasha, do not like to live in town, to avoid negative human relations and insults based on their occupation ("You Faqi").

The Faqi do not like to be called by that name and prefer the term "arabannya", which has a connotation of someone skilled in something imported, of prestigeful origin. This is perhaps well-founded for some of their finer products resemble morocco leather.

The Faqi farm little, less than the Falasha, but keep kitchen gardens. They usually do not own land- unless a family acquired some as a reward for ordnance services rendered accompanying the troops of Menelik II. The cash obtained from their products goes largely to pay rent [231] for the land, similar to the Falasha. The Faqi try to keep as much cattle as they can afford, for the skins are valuable to them, and cow's urine is used in the process of tanning.

The basic team need not exceed three ablebodied, experienced tanners, but there are numerous little jobs for boys and older men.

•281 The raw material, sometimes bought from the place of slaughtering, sometimes brought by the customer, consists largely of skins of cattle, goats and sheep. Goat and sheepskin are worked to finely tanned leather often of reddish color and are used for ornaments, or covers for food baskets and other utensils. Cow or ox skins are used to make rougher leather such as saddlecovers, household utensils, or simply covers for nighttime sleeping. Skins of horses, mules and the multitude of cheaply available donkeys, are not used.

Of wild animals, skins of buffalo (Bos caffer aequinoctialis) and of rhinoceros (Rhinoceros africanus) were used to make shields while antelope skin is still tanned in a fashion similar to that of goats. Skins of oxen and cows are often simply dried in the sun and sold on the market. Thence much of it is exported to foreign countries and made into cheap shoesoles. This method is also followed with crocodile skins, leopard skins and the skins of the Colobus ("gureza") monkey. For simple sun drying, skins are scraped on the inside with knives to remove all remnants of flesh and ligaments, then stretched tight in the sun. The fibers in the skin become glued together to a strong, hard surface. This method is followed by the rural Amhara householder, the hunter who has no skill or experience in tanning.

The Faqi tanner follows two major methods, sometimes both, in the preparation of a skin for specific products: The producing of chamois-type skin by means largely of fats, a method widespread in inner Africa; and tanning by means of tannin-containing plants, a method known in Asia and

281 Egypt since ancient times. Dyeing usually red, by means of native plants, accompanies the tanning process, for any good skin that is to be further manufactured.

Depilation is achieved by exposing the skin to a carefully controlled "sweating" process of natural putrefaction. A cowskin is soaked in water for 3 days, then dried and soaked in cow's urine for 3 days. The hair is thus loosened, the skin softened, so that it responds to easy depilation by rubbing with astringent plants:

[824] "embwaçho" - (Solanum margitanum)

"embway" - (Rumex alismafolius), a thistle, the crushed yellow fruit of which also acts as a preservative for the skin, since it contains tannin.

Then the skin is stretched tight on wooden pegs, to dry in the sun for one day. It is then rubbed with a stone for one day, which removes the last remaining hair except for a hairline or raised skin which is purposely left to indicate the pattern for the cutting that will take place later. The skin is then rubbed for one day with lemon (which is commonly available) for a pickling effect.

It is now ready for dyeing. Sometimes, especially in the case of smaller (e.g. goat) skins, the dye is first prepared by boiling the plants in clay pots (the bark of the "qeratē" or other bush, or "enqoy" seed mixed with lemon juice), and then soaking and drying the skin several times after the dye has cooled. Cowskins are more often dyed by leaving them stretched and rubbing with the bark of the "beshesha" tree or leaves of the "qarāt" (or "qeratē") bush, for one day.

281 Fats, usually of plant origin, either wild or domestic, are then used to lubricate and soften the skin. This is hard manual work, lasting sometimes several days. Most commonly preferred is the castor oil bean, called "qaçhma" or "gulqwas". The skin may now be kneaded or stamped by feet, to work the fats in and render the skin soft for the cutting and fashioning of objects, which now follows.

282 411 The shield was formerly one of the major products of the Faqi, but now is made rarely and only for ornamental use. The rhinoceros or buffalo skin is cut circular, placed over a wooden stake in the ground, the rim pegged down, to prepare the cupola shape. The skin is then depilated, dried, smeared with oils to expand again. It is beaten to increase its resistance. Incised decorations and the pulling through of the leather handle, are done before the shield is entirely hard and dry. Metal decor is added later, by the smith, after the Faqi has delivered his product.

282 [854] [415] [283] More common products, still made today, are: half-sack, "inqälba", for carrying the baby on the mother's back, with straps and a bottom tied to the mother's shoulders, chest and waist; full sacks, "aqomada", for transporting grain to market, tied with strips (these are also used for various storage in the better Amhara huts); straps cut of poor skins in all kinds and sizes, "qeralla", some for tying loads onto donkeys, some to serve as more springy diagonal straps of the better "alga" bed; a fine, tanned cowskin used as blanket; "jändi", cover

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754 able to turn themselves into "buda" hyenas, and of having learned their craft from the "buda" evil spirit. Since the smiths in the old-Amhara areas are mostly Falashas, whose formal religious worship is never observed by Coptic Amhara, the Falasha smith is feared and [412] suspected of black magic. At the same time, the iron tools produced by the Falasha are much prized, not only on account of their material utility but on account of their supposed supernatural strength, endurance and "secretly revealed" workmanship. Even today, the provincial peasant will insist on obtaining his plowpoint or adze from a "real" Falasha.

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326 The Falashas practice endogamy, as do the Coptic Amhara. But in the towns where increased contact occasionally begins to attenuate the old rules, individuals of low prestige in both groups do sometimes marry, which [797] usually results in the conversion of the Falasha partner to the majority religion. Also due to modern contact, it is beginning to happen that a Falasha teaches his craft to a non-Falasha, but the peasants often reject the output of the latter on the grounds that it isn't a "really strong, genuine Falasha article".

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281 Somewhat similar untouchability attaches to the tanners, who are usually of local pre-Amharic, (Cushitic, e.g. Agau) descent, often still speak their ancient tongues, and until recently were never converted to Coptic Christianity. As traditionally "conquered" peoples, they are not "attentam", and Amhara endogamous rules prevail against them. The stigma against them seems to

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563 281 rest not on any supposed supernatural powers of their craft, but on theoccupation which requires them to deal with carcasses regularly, and places them in a class with the "Moyto" hippopotamus hunters of Lake Tana. However, the tanned skins produced by these "Faqi" tanners, prepared through a primitve version of making "morocco" leather, ismuch appreciated as "best workmanship" by the rural as well as town Amhara.

Like the Falasha, the "Faqi" live in hamlets of their own, usually within half a day's waling distance of a big market. They are regarded by Amhara as pagans; they gather under large trees in remote areas for their nature worship on several occasions each year. In very recent years, the urgings from the emperor and the example of Protestant missionaries have stimulated the Coptic clergy to admit them to Christianity, but, as [97] in the case of converted Falasha, the social stigma remains attached to the convert, even if he changes his occupation. Socially he is then worse off than before, for as an outcast from his own group he feels the barbs of social discrimination more than ever. In the past, the "Faqi", like the "Falasha" did not concern themselves much about this stigma, but now the "Faqi" insist on the polite address "arabenna" --which refers to the tanner workmandhip (lit. the one who creates Arab-like, i.e. imported luxury, articles.).

[463] Occupations that can be readily learned by anyone, or that require talent rather than skill, do not connote 533 low class. A musician, "azmari", male or female, who may or may not play an instrument for accompaniment, is